NATIONAL
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"DO YOU THINK I'M ELIGIBLE FOR THE BAR ASSOCIATION?"
Good question. But after the recent lawyers convocation (see below) a better question might be whether the lawyers are seeking admission to the Bloodhound Association. They sure have picked up the scent back to the good old hound days of Joe McCarthy.

HOUSE UNANIMOUS ON TWO BILLS

A.B.A. puts heat on Congress to reverse the Supreme Court

By Louis E. Burnham

IF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE survive the 86th Congress without losing some of the ground gained on the civil liberties front since the McCarthy era, it will not be without a hard fight. And no thanks will be due to the guardians of freedom and officers of the courts who answer the roll call as members of the American Bar Assn.

Meeting in Chicago on Feb. 24, the ABA added its considerable voice to the recent outcry for Congressional action to curb the Supreme Court. Their action spurred the House of Representatives to unanimous approval of the first two anti-civil liberties bills offered, with the assurance that more would follow. On March 2 the House passed, without a single objection, a bill to revise the Smith Act and another to permit prosecution of Americans accused of spying anywhere in the world.

The Smith Act amendment, offered by Rep. Francis Walter (D-Pa.) chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, would change the interpretation of the word "organize" to include not only the initial establishment of a party, but practically any subsequent action performed in any unit of the party. Under the current, more limited, judicial view of the term "organize," the Supreme Court in 1957 freed five California Com-

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HOW TO MANUFACTURE A CRISIS

U.S. press distortion fails to halt move for a summit parley

By Kumar Goshal

SOVIET PREMIER Khrushchev on March 1 formally replied to the West's Feb. 16 proposal for a Big Four foreign ministers' conference on Berlin and Germany. He said Moscow would agree to the conference if its purpose was to prepare for a summit meeting and if Poland, Czechoslovakia and East and West Germany were invited to participate.

Khrushchev's conditional acceptance of the West's proposal came almost at the peak of an East-West crisis heightened by an almost unprecedented distortion of the news from the Soviet Union by correspondents free of censorship for the duration of British Prime Minister Macmillan's visit. In the U.S., commentators became the voice of doom on the prospects for negotiation, and the U.S. Navy joined the propaganda war with what looked like a calculated boarding of a Soviet fishing vessel off the Great Banks of Newfoundland.

WHAT HE SAID: Reports from the Soviet Union to the U.S. press turned sour and contradictory after Khrushchev made a speech on Feb. 24 before his Moscow constituents as they prepared for the March 1 Soviet parliamentary elections. In his speech Khrushchev made the following points:

- Reunification of Germany should be undertaken by the East and West German sovereign governments through consultations which could be greatly facilitated by a peace treaty with both governments.
- Moscow and all its wartime allies should try to solve the German problem in a mannner to insure that Germany never again would become a threat to its neighbors.
- Such wartime allies as Poland and Czechoslovakia, "which were the first victims of Hitlerite hordes" and have common frontiers with Germany, should participate in a foreign ministers' conference if one were held.
- The problems that create tension today are questions of European security, troop withdrawal from foreign territories, disengagement of East-West military groupings, disarmament, reduction of armed forces, prohibtion of nuclear weapons and suspension of their tests.
- Only "the heads of government upon whom greater authority devolves" can best solve such intricate international problems because "they can take the necessary decisions."

FLOOD OF INTERPRETATIONS: There was nothing unfamiliar in the speech. According to **Reuters,** a foreign ambassador in Moscow quoted Khrushchev as having said:

"I know it has been suggested that I should not have made the speech until Mr. Macmillan left Moscow, but the election was to be Sunday [March 1] before he left and I owed it to my electors to explain what has happening. That is all I did."

The U.S. press was immediately flooded with a variety of interpretations of Khrushchev's speech: (1) He had rejected a foreign ministers' conference and "offered only a summit conference, on his own terms"; (2) He had "delivered a calcualted rebuff" to Macmillan and the British delegation was "stunned" by it; (3) He resented what he believed to be "Macmillan's purpose in coming empty-handed to the Kremlin to create

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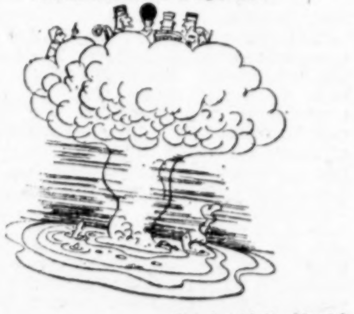

Sonntagsblatt, Munich

The last summit conference

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LABOR TO LOBBY FOR 35-HOUR WEEK

AFL-CIO softens jobless march to a 'conference'

By Robert E. Light

AUTO UNION PRESIDENT Walter P. Reuther went to the AFL-CIO executive council session in San Juan, Puerto Rico, last month carrying a bag full of proposals to meet the unemployment crisis. Back home in Detroit there were 200,000 jobless, many others on short weeks and 75,000 whose unemployment benefits were exhausted. Some of the jobless had organized a committee and forced on the union leadership a fighting program for the unemployed. Before he left, Reuther told cheering delegates that he would propose a march on Washington by the unemployed.

In San Juan the cheers were muffled. AFL-CIO president George Meany and other craft union leaders preferred a "legislative conference"; the march "smacked of communist tactics." Unemployment was not a critical problem for the craft unions; they had other troubles. But with support from other leaders of former CIO industrial unions, Reuther got a compromise. He was appointed chairman of a committee to organize a "mass conference" of unemployed in Washington this spring.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM: Reuther said several thousand unemployed would parade near the White House and the Capitol Delegations would visit Congressmen to lobby for union-backed legislation. But Meany emphasized that it would be a conference and "not a march on anywhere."

The council also drew up a legislative program and appropriated a fund to lobby for:

- A 35-hour week to spread the work.
- A minimum wage of $1.25 an hour and extension of coverage to an additional 7,600,000 workers.
- Federal legislation to set minimum standards for unemployment compensation paid by the states and to extend the

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG

Municipal report

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The president of General Electric spoke to our Chamber of Commerce with a call to battle for Right To Work.

Sen. Kuchel has complained that he is being hounded for refusing to give our water power over to Pacific Gas & Electric.

Gov. Brown is alarmed at the Sacramento lobbyists for Big Business who have descended in hordes on our State Capitol.

Rev. Fifield in a meeting of his anti-freedom Freedom Club had as a speaker a Prof. Root who would replace newly-elected sane and somewhat liberal members of our School Board with their own band.

Another Big Business lobbyist from Washington, D.C., called for laws to hamstring the unions, using the McClellan hearings as the guide.

These and many more episodes indicate a concerted campaign to defy the victories of the November elections. The main attacks are on the liberals in and out of office. For their own good, the liberals had better decide right now whose side they're on. **I. B.**

Good tip

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Your editorial (2/23) exposing the bi-partisan tactics being used by State Republicans and City Democrats in New York to put a tax squeeze on consumers while protecting corporations, prompted me to write indignant letters to my state and city representatives.

In doing this, I found invaluable the League of Women Voters **They Represent You** (which answers the questions of who, what and where) available from the League at 461 Fourth Av., New York 16, for 25c. I believe GUARDIAN readers in every major city in the U.S. can get a similar brochure, containing local information, by writing to the League branch which appears in their telephone directories. **Cynthia Speare**

Rain without thunder

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

"Let me give you a word of the philosophy of reform. The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions, yet made to her august claims, have been born of earnest struggle. The conflict has been exciting, agitating, all-absorbing, and for the time being putting all other tumults to silence. It must do this or it does nothing. If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will."

This noble, measured statement is the most cogent rebuttal conceivable against Chet Huntley's widely-broadcast suggestion that the NAACP withdraw from the school segregation fight. It is the prophetic voice of the great Negro leader, Frederick Douglass; 64 years ago death claimed his body, but "his soul goes marching on." **Muriel I. Symington**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

What's behind this sales drop [of comic books]? The comics men have an earthy explanation. "The damn cleanup did it," snaps a veteran publisher. "Back in 1954 when we set up the comics code and agreed to cut out the horror and sex—that's when we sealed our doom."

—Wall Street **Journal,** 2/25

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: R. G., Cleveland, Ohio.

How to help Sobell

NEW YORK, N.Y.

GUARDIAN readers and friends will want to know that there is a permanent Thrift Sale going on to help raise funds for the campaign to free Morton Sobell. The store has been open for six weeks and there is an urgent need for more merchandise.

We are asking friends to go through their closets and kitchen cabinets and let us have whatever they can spare—clothing, utensils, household goods, toys, etc. Neighbors and storekeepers who might contribute articles should also be contacted.

If it is convenient, articles should be brought to the store at 1553 St. Nicholas Av. (between 187 and 188 Sts.), or telephone ALgonquin 4-9983 for a pickup. Volunteers to help man the store are also needed.

Ben Ratner
The N.Y. Sobell Committee

A comparison in India

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The fact that the Western nations will have to abandon or radically revise their present approach in "aiding" the capitalization of the world's underdeveloped countries—or lose out to socialist countries—is strikingly brought out in a recent report on steel production in central India in the Los Angeles **Times.**

German monopoly capitalism is charging the Indian government 30% more for building a steel mill of 1,000,000 ingot tons annual capacity than the Soviet government.

Here is a comparison: Total cost of West German-built plant in Rourekala, Orissa State, $357 million. Total cost of Soviet-built plant in Bhilai, in one of the Madhya Pradesh states, $275 million.

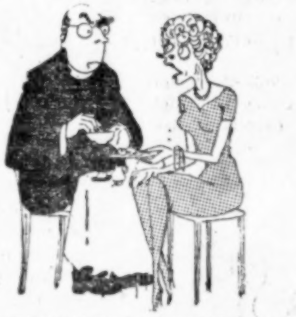
The West German government "extended credits to meet part of the cost" in Rourekala. The Soviet government, through its "Techno-export" agency, handled the construction of the entire Bhilai plant and loaned the Indian government half of the needed $275 million.

Thirty-four West German firms under the supervision of the Krupp-Demag combine built the Rourekala plant. The Soviet Techno-export, a single unit, built the Bhilai plant.

The West German-built plant consists of four open-hearth furnaces and three Linz Donawitz converters. The million-ingot-ton capacity is "eventual." The Soviet-built plant consists of six open-hearth furnaces, a blooming mill (which rolls the ingots to reduced size), a billet mill and a rail and structural mill. The million-ingot-ton capacity is immediate.

Both plants will be owned and operated by the Indian government.

Reuben Borough



Lancaster in London Dail Express

"You see, Canon, I do feel that if I give up martinis for Lent and my husband doesn't, I shall almost certainly fall into the sin of spiritual pride."

No skier, he

SAN PEDRO, CALIF.

Golly, I like Corliss Lamont as much as anyone and hold him and his works and what he stands for in high esteem—but I was considerably puzzled and subsequently irked that he took up a column of precious space devoted to the very healthful and aesthetic sport of skiing. What happened—did you run out of news or something? **G.B.**

Senior citizens

PORTLAND, ORE.

There are many inequities in the social security law. The whole law should be revamped and brought up to date to meet present day requirements. The age limits should be lowered to take care of people who are refused employment at the age of 40 years or thereabout, and hospital and medical care should be provided.

These and other changes will not be made unless the people affected get together and organize and demand a decent standard of living for all of our people.

The Social Security Clubs of America, Inc., has been established on the West Coast with headquarters in Portland, Ore. This organization desires and is prepared to establish clubs in every state. The object is to secure legislation to improve social security and make it available to all. For information write to Social Security Clubs of America, Inc., 220 Governor Bldg., 408 S.W. 2nd Av., Portland 4, Ore.

Charles E. Woodward

Would you repeat that?

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Here in Washington we do not know discrimination against Negroes. In fact the pendulum has swung the other way and colored folk predominate in the government offices.

Therefore to us in Washington your incessant playing up the Negro problem is beginning to cloy and nauseate.

Name Withheld

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

A BILL (H.R. 2663) last week was rolling along a secrecy-shrouded path toward speedy enactment. It would make of the Central Intelligence Agency, our super-duper spy organization, an invisible government with power to act and spend in violation of most established laws, and responsible only to the President. Here are some of the things it would do:

Permit CIA agents to be assigned as spies in almost any organization anywhere in the world; permit the CIA to spend its own funds or funds appropriated to other agencies without any accounting except a certificate that they were spent in the interest of national security. Another section would shroud all personnel operations in absolute secrecy by exempting the Agency from any existing laws "which require the publication or disclosure of the organization, functions, names, official titles, salaries or numbers of personnel employed by the Agency."

John B. Stone, in the GUARDIAN, March 7, 1949

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REPORT TO READERS

Prize reporting

FORMER GOV. AVERELL HARRIMAN, released by N.Y. voters last November from his stewardship of the Empire State, has started writing from India for a newspaper syndicate. His first dispatch started out this way in the N.Y. **Times** Feb. 26:

"The best news out of India today is that her leaders are finally aware of the menace of Communist China . . ."

Further on in the dispatch it develops that the "menace" is that China is solving the problems of a 650-million population, while India's 400 million are "impatient" for parallel progress. During his stay the ex-Governor promises to go to Kerala "where the Communists have come to power by exploiting the discontent of a suddenly impatient people."

It has occurred to us, as it may have to you, that GUARDIAN subscribers are among the few newspaper readers in America sufficiently informed on affairs elsewhere in the world to be able to correct in their own minds and for others the use of a phrase like "suddenly impatient" to describe the expectations of long-deprived peoples. Gov. Harriman unfortunately was never a GUARDIAN subscriber (we hasten to add, we never supported him, either.)

FULLY TWO YEARS ago Tabitha Petran sent us the earliest first-hand stories from the state of Kerala, and of the furious efforts by reactionary and Catholic interests to dislodge the first popular government in Kerala's centuries-old history. Cedric Belfrage reported again from Kerala last year, and this year has had four articles from India, including an interview with Nehru.

The Nehru interview failed to discover the view that India's leaders regard Communist China as a menace. Instead, Nehru had issued "frequent appeals for a Chinese-type spirit of popular enthusiasm" although he felt that it would be "difficult to do like China here without changing the whole structure." Also, Belfrage disclosed that Nehru has rejected appeals to intervene against the Communist government in Kerala.

In another of his articles this year, Belfrage prepared us for the political overturns which are now occurring in the Himalayan kingdom of Nepal, where political leaders who sought to prevent the first free elections in the country's history are being successively voted out of office in elections which will continue until April 3.

AS FOR CHINA'S PROGRESS, the writings of Anna Louise Strong, which have appeared thus far exclusively in the GUARDIAN, are the only current news directly from China by any U.S. correspondent. From early last fall to the present, Miss Strong's eye-witness articles have reported the production increases in China which Nehru in his interview with Belfrage called "fabulous."

Miss Strong, who defied Secy. Dulles' passport ban to go to China, intends to stay there as long as she feels the news of China's progress warrants. (She could be there a long time.)

FROM AFRICA, the Middle East, from Paris and Moscow, staff correspondence to the GUARDIAN during the past few months has been a succession of eye-openers. Wilfred Burchett has provided a first-hand before-and-after of the 21st Congress in the Soviet Union; Anne Bauer has kept us abreast of developments in France, with meaningful profiles of the men around de Gaulle; Ursula Wassermann has roved Africa starting from the Accra Conference in Ghana, providing accurate and timely background to the turbulence reported in the news from Togo, Angola and elsewhere.

Tabitha Petran is continuing her first-hand reporting from Cairo and Baghdad, and has written us to expect articles in the near future on the aftermaths of the revolution in Iraq and the economic and political problems in the new United Arab Republic.

MEANWHILE, BACK AT THE RANCH, we are doing our level best to keep you alerted to home-front developments in civil rights, civil liberties and fight-back politics. On the repression front: the Denver Smith Act trials, Powell-Schuman Case, Cleveland Taft-Hartley appeal and, soon, news on Junius Scales' pivotal Supreme Court appeal from his re-conviction under the "membership" provision of the Smith Act; in labor, the developing fight for the shorter work week; in civil rights, the fight for school integration; and, in the near future, startling disclosures in the fight on cancer.

We don't favor keeping this kind of reporting in the family. We think dozens of your friends will be interested, too, in the kind of news and campaigning that has made the GUARDIAN unique in American journalism since the day it was born back in '48.

There's a coupon on P. 9 to help you pass the ammunition. Please use it, today?

—THE GUARDIAN

NEW STUDY SHOWS:

The tighter the monopoly, the higher go the prices

By Barrow Lyons
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

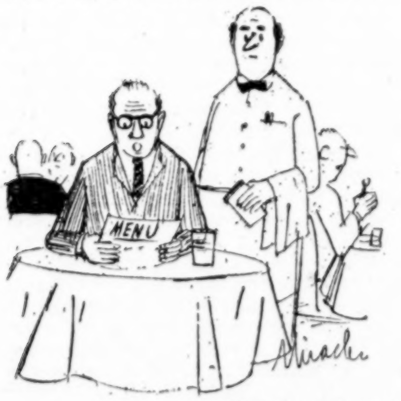
A SIMPLE CHART produced for the Kefauver Anti-Trust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the Senate has created a more disturbing effect upon the professional political mind than anything that has happened since the November elections. Matter of fact, it is one of the most important bits of economic evidence telling what is rotten with the American economy ever published.

This nasty little chart shows that since 1953 the only substantial increases which have occurred in the wholesale price index have been in the highly concentrated (monopolized) industries. This is something hard to face and admit—at least for a lot of people.

Steel leads the procession with an increase of 37% in the six years encompassing 1953-8. (The figures stop at October 1958). Machinery and motive equipment come next with a boost of 22%; fabricated steel next wth 21%.

Then, in the following order, ranging downward between 20% and 10% follow rubber, non-metallic minerals, pulp and paper, tobacco and beverages. These are the chief culprits responsible for the rise in wholesale prices, and reflected in thousands of retail items.

THE MINOR OFFENDERS: Then there are four industry groups in which monopoly is only partial—where there remains a degree of price competition. The increase in the wholesale price index for these ranges between 8% and 3%. They are furniture, metal products other than steel, chemicals, fuel and power. In this same class is the processed foods industry, in which competition still exists. Also, but showing much smaller price increases in the six years, are hides and leather products, and lumber and wood products—the last showing virtually no inflation.



Wall Street Journal

"I'll have the business man's lunch, double, and without the olive."

Three industry groups show falling prices since 1953—textiles and apparel, farm products, and miscellaneous products. The last, which comprises many small, competitive industries in which there are many participants, is the low man on the totem pole. In the miscellaneous group the price decline is 7%, reflecting the plight of the small businessman in general The farmer fared only slightly better. Wholesale farm prices dropped 4% in the six years. In all of these industries there is active competition.

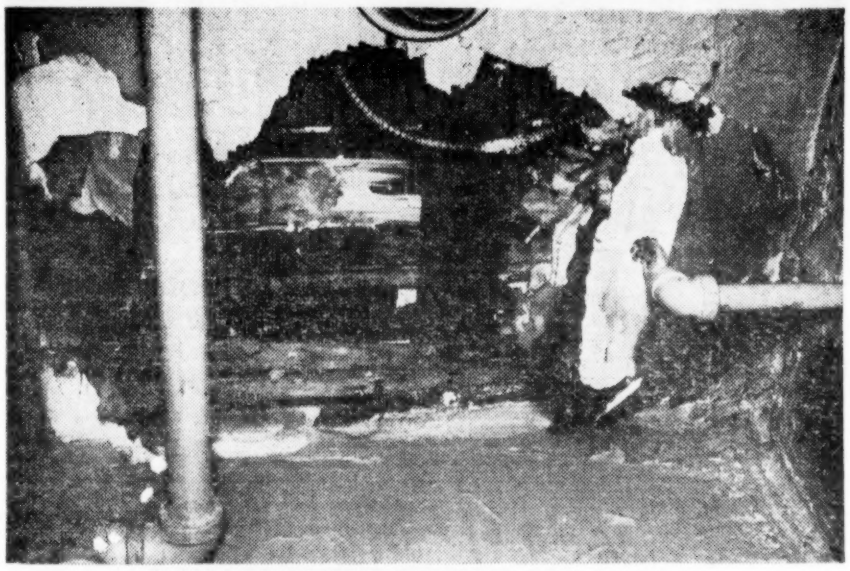
An illuminating sidelight upon this chart is another which shows that between the period 1942-47 all of the largest increases were in the industries in which competition existed, while somewhat more moderate advances were made in the price-administered industries, those in which monopoly controls are exercised.

The point is that the 1942-47 period was one of commodity scarcity in which market conditions caused prices to rise.

The 1953-58 period has been one of commodity availability, in which the free market industries have been hit by price declines, but the monopolized industries have relentlessly pushed prices upward despite plentiful supplies.

MERRY-GO-ROUND: While the charts have made a deep impression upon the economists, and upon those politicians who understand charts, they are not the tools with which elections are won.

So both the Democrats and Republicans are going to prove what is wrong with the economy. Vith the full support of Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, the Joint Economic Committee of Congress will stage a full-dress investigation of the situation. On the other hand, President Eisenhower has appointed Vice President Nixon as chairman of a Cabinet committee to explore and expose the problems of inflation. There can be little doubt that organized labor will be held accountable for much of what ails us.



TENANT DELEGATION PRODUCED THIS EVIDENCE
Photo shows decay in New York's decontrolled slums

'THE RATS LIVE BETTER!'

500 angry New York tenants go to Albany for more rent control

By Lucille Banta
Special to the Guardian

ALBANY, N.Y.

BUSLOADS OF IRATE tenants from New York City descended on the state capitol here on Feb. 19 and turned the usually landlord-weighted rent hearings into the biggest demonstration in a decade for rent control and more of it.

The newborn State Emergency Committee for Rent Control turned out the mass lobby in less than three weeks time. Participating organizations included the East Harlem Protestant Parish, the Council of Puerto Rican and Spanish American Organizations, the NAACP, the Lower East Side Neighborhoods Assn., the South Bronx Community Council and some 29 other community-wide groups, as well as local church, school and settlement house contingents. Negro and Spanish-speaking organizations were well represented, and there were two busloads of supporters from the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Altogether, upwards of 500 marchers jammed the hearing and presented these demands:

- Extension of rent control for another four years;
- Rent control of all housing accomodations, including rooming houses and conversions;
- No further 15% increases on houses where there have been more than two such increases since 1943;
- No increases for housing where proven violations exist;
- Future rent hearings in New York City proper, as well as in Albany, so that city dwellers most affected by rent control legislation can have their say.

'RATS LIVE BETTER': Rev. George E. Calvert, head of the East Harlem Protestant Parish and keynoter of the tenant delegation, displayed enlarged photographs of slum conditions and violations in his own Yorkville community.

"Here is a one-family house," he told the Joint Legislative Committee. "The landlord has subdivided it into 13 apartments, with just two toilets, housing over 50 people. This is a decontrolled house, and the landlord gets $16 to $18 a week from each 'apartment'." In reply to landlord catcalls, he cried: "The rats live better!"

Similar demonstrations from the "property owners" (they rejected the term "landlord" as obsolete) greeted spokesmen for the Workmen's Circle, the Liberal Party and even Deputy New York City Mayor Bernard J. Ruggieri. The Deputy Mayor denounced the practice of some land sharks who deliberately let their property deteriorate so that the city will condemn it, then "renovate" by splitting it up into many more units at decontrolled rentals. He proposed a five-year ban on decontrol for such condemned houses. Response of the "property owners" was so loud that Chairman Carlino almost stopped the hearing.

SEGREGATION HIT: NAACP leader Paul Zuber, speaking also for the 369th Veterans Assn., the Paul Laurence Dunbar Tenants' League and the Emergency Committee itself, declared: "There is a strange correlation between those who come to Albany against rent control and those who testified earlier" against passage of bills for desegregated housing.

Stating that his supporters could not afford high-priced counsel to defend their rents, such as defended the real estate interests that afternoon, Zuber concluded: "Rent laws are the working man's friend in court." He received the longest and loudest applause of the session, while for once the rent collectors maintained a respectful silence.

Absence of the state's lawmakers when tenant groups came to call ("Albany was a ghost town as far as we were concerned," one lobby leader put it) gave rise to a demand that all future rent hearings in Albany be held on a Tuesday, before legislators can leave and evade their constituents.

It was agreed that the State Emergency Committee would continue to function at its present quarters, 2050 Second Av., N.Y.C., until a more permanent organization could be set up to unite the widest number of communities and groups around the housing crisis.

THE ROCKEFELLER BUDGET

Teachers Union demands more aid to education

THE TEACHERS UNION of the City of New York is the most forward-looking (and therefore most maligned) of the city's school unions. Last month the Teachers Union took off on Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller's $2 billion New York State budget, particularly on the $277,000,000 added to finance increased expenditures for essential services, including education, as the Governor said in his message.

On education, the TU analysis shows, the budget is merely a "stand pat" proposal, providing for continuation but no increase for emergency state aid and most other school appropriations.

Calling for a "drastic overhaul of the State Aid Formula," the TU Report called for passage of the Brydges-Brady Bill, increasing state aid from $330 to $450 for children up to sixth grade, and from $412.50 to $562.50 for pupils in grades seven to twelve.

For New York City school construction, TU proposes a $500 million bond issue to be put up for referendum this fall. The Greenberg-Abrams and Mitchell-Preller bills have been introduced in the Assembly and Senate for this purpose.

OTHER MEASURES: Support is urged for the Mitchell-Lawrence, Brydges-Giaccio and Zaretski-Asch bills, all providing state aid for all-day kindergartens and nursery schools for children 3-6, and neighborhood schools for children 6-12 without parental supervision between 9 a.m. and 5 p.m.

Special state aid for special problems was called for by the Union for (1) underprivileged children and "minority group children attending **de facto** (and generally inferior) segregated schools;" (2) school construction in "border" areas to defeat **de facto** segregation resulting from segregation in housing; (3) expanded facilities and improved services for non-English speaking, handicapped, disturbed or potentially delinquent children.

The Union called for an increase in number and value of state scholarships for higher education; increased aid to New York City colleges; expansion of state facilities for higher education.

A basic overhaul of school salaries, not undertaken since 1947, was urged, with recommendation of a teacher salary schedule of $6,000-$12,000 a year reached in ten annual steps, with commensurate scales for other school personnel.

The Report was submitted by Rose V. Russell, legislative representative.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE HOLDS HEARINGS

New drive planned to organize farm labor

By Bob Cooney
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

ORGANIZED LABOR and organized family farmers may soon be teamed up in a fight to bring health to the agricultural industry.

Public hearings recently concluded here documented in detail the morally and economically sick system under which much of America's food and fiber is produced.

The two days of hearings were sponsored by the four-month old Natl. Advisory Committee on Farm Labor. Co-chairmen of the Committee are Dr. Frank P. Graham, former Senator from North Carolina, and A. Philip Randolph, president of the AFL-CIO Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Also on the Committee are Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Msgr. George Higgins, director of the Social Action Dept., Natl. Catholic Welfare Conference. The Committee's aim is to let the facts shock for themselves.

SHAMEFUL PROBLEM: The farm labor problem has been debated and deplored for decades. But various forces are now converging which could explode the shameful problem into the center of public attention.

There were few illusions at the hearings about the obstacles ahead. There was agreement on these basic facts:

- There are two million farm workers;
- The average migrant worked only 131 days in 1957 and earned $859 for the year, including non-farm pay;
- Some 450,000 foreign workers are imported annually, the great majority being Mexican;
- American farm workers have almost no protection, with no minimum wage, no jobless pay, no right to join a union;
- American migrant workers, because they travel, do not have residence rights and so cannot vote and cannot get welfare help or medical care as needed;
- Migrant children get little or no education;
- Agriculture is the biggest violator of the child labor law.

These major viewpoints came out of the hearings:

FARM ORGANIZATIONS: Reuben Johnson, Coordinator of Legislative Services, Natl. Farmers Union, said the NFU favors a farm minimum wage. He said the use of cheap labor by factory farms speeded the trend toward bigger and fewer farms and depressed earnings of family-operated farms.

Matt Triggs, assistant legislative director of the American Farm Bureau Fedn., said the Farm Bureau opposed unionization of farm workers. He also contended a farm minimum wage would be too "complicated" to administer.

THE EISENHOWER CABINET: Agriculture Secy. Ezra Taft Benson, in a message, said simply: "Just as agriculture needs these migrant workers, so they need agriculture." Otherwise, some workers would be on relief, he said.

Labor Secy. James P. Mitchell announced he has launched a study of the entire farm wage-hour question, but it will not be ready until late next year. He said the migrant worker needs a decent federal minimum and stable employment. Beyond that, he said, labor and other groups must go to the states to win adequate housing, safe transportation, education, medical care and workemen's compensation.

While Mitchell did recognize that migrants had no union spokesmen and no voting power, he did not mention that every state legislature is over-represented from rural areas So there will be little action by the states.

LABOR SECRETARY MITCHELL
Leave it to the States

THE EMPLOYERS: John Seabrook, whose union-shop factory farm covers 54,000 acres in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, saw a federal farm minimum as the key to curing the farm labor problem. He suggested a low minimum to start, with annual increases. He relied on his own experience to argue that higher wages mean higher productivity and greater efficiency. The AFL-CIO Meatcutters' Union enjoys an average wage of more than $1.50 an hour on Seabrook Farms.

ORGANIZED LABOR: AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer William F. Schnitzler said his organization is considering an organizing drive of farm workers, and would also push for a Congressional investigation of "this national disgrace" of farm labor exploitation. Family-type farms would be excluded in the efforts to win legislative protection and the right to join unions.

Ernesto Galarza, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO Natl. Agricultural Workers Union, described the shocking legal and illegal exploitation of "California's Captive Farm Workers." The NAWU will be the chief union involved in the proposed AFL-CIO campaign.

HOW IT WORKS: Galarza told how Mexican nationals are used by big grower groups to force domestic workers out of farmwork and depress earnings of small farm operators; of how growers set low wage rates which are then "found" by government officials to be prevailing; of profiteering in feeding Mexican nationals; of corruption in the million dollar-plus insurance premiums which are worker-paid and compulsory. And of how, by changing methods of payment—as when San Joaquin wineries switched from boxes to drums—the Mexican workers suffered a 50% pay cut.

Even the basic wage rule was reversed. Originally, Mexican nationals were to be paid American wage rates. Now the rule reads, according to Galarza: "Domestic workers must be offered a rate no less than that paid to Mexican workers."

A TYPICAL LIFE: George Stith, a migrant farmworker from Gould, Ark., and an NAWU member, testified that Negro cotton choppers in Lincoln County, Ark., were paid as little as 30c an hour while Mexicans doing the same work were guaranteed 50c.

Delmer Berg, a specialist farmworker from Modesto, Calif., described the gradual speed-up with Mexican labor and how big growers played off nationality and racial groups against each other. Berg's annual earnings slid from $2,000 in 1955 to $1,200 in 1956 to about $900 for 1958.

Dr. Hector Garcia of San Antonio, chairman of the American GI Forum, a group of war veterans of Mexican origin, said this is the life of a typical migrant: he will be born of an anemic mother and possibly a tubercular father; he will get only three years' schooling; in a life of poverty and sickness, his adult wage may go as high as $60 a month or as low as $300 a year.

Garcia added: ". . . the only piece of property that he will own will be his grave."

AFL-CIO story

(Continued from Page 1)

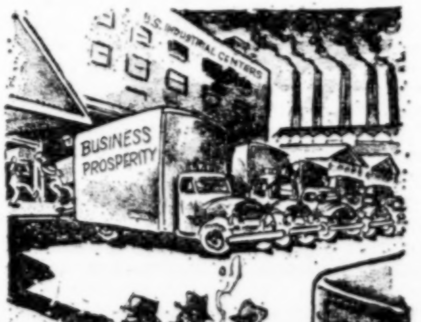
duration and eligibility provisions.

- Seats on the board of directors of the Federal Reserve Bank for labor, consumer and small business representatives. The federation blamed the bank's "tight-money" policies for some of the country's economic problems.
- Other proposals included a Federal spending program, closing of tax loopholes for businesses and earnings from dividends and interest; passage of the Murry-Metcalf school aid bill and the Forand bill for free hospitalization and nursing home care for the aged.

WAR ON HOFFA: The council met in Puerto Rico at the request of the island's Governor Luis Munoz Marin, made at a secret meeting with Meany in Washington last fall. Munoz wanted AFL-CIO backing in his fight against an organizing drive on the island by James Hoffa's Teamsters. He said he was planning special legislation to keep out "racket unions" and had the active support of the Catholic church and the Puerto Rican Assn. of Businesses which has asked the McClellan Senate rackets committee for help.

Meany joined Munoz at a meeting of workers in San Juan and warned them "not to be hoodwinked by rash promises of discredited organizations . . . that are dominated by racketeering." The council granted a charter to a catch-all local for Puerto Rican truck drivers, warehousemen and others.

This broke a federation policy of avoiding a direct clash with Hoffa. Maritime union president Joseph Curran warned that it might set off a mainland war with the Teamsters. Although the federation has had an official hands-off policy on the Teamsters, most AFL-CIO unions have maintained friendly relations on a local level: the Teamsters often can make or break another union's strike.



Poinier in Detroit News
American still-life

CHALLENGE ACCEPTED: Across the straits in Miami where the Teamster's executive board was meeting, Hoffa took up the challenge. He said his union would "spend all the money necessary" to organize Puerto Rican workers, whose wages are as low as 32c an hour. "The government itself," he said, "was the chief opposition to the union—not the workers. It seems to have some policy—poor wages, poor working conditions, poor people."

The AFL-CIO, he added, was pressured into the fight by outsiders, "management, government or whoever." Their purpose, he said, was to allow low wages and poor working conditions to continue on the island.

If there was to be war, Hoffa seemed to possess the most weapons. Almost all companies on the island are subsidiaries of mainland corporations. Hoffa's plan is to sign contracts in the States recognizing his union's jurisdiction over workers in the subsidiaries in Puerto Rico.

In addition, most supplies to Puerto Rico are delivered in ships loaded and unloaded by members of another expelled union, the Intl. Longshoreman's Assn. Hoffa has worked closely with the ILA in the past and could call on its help in a jurisdictional fight.

LABOR 'REFORM': The Teamsters and the AFL-CIO were also at odds on "labor reform" legislation. The federation council proclaimed full support for the Senate's Kennedy-Ervin reform bill, although it said it would withdraw support if sections liberalizing the Taft-Hartley law were removed.

For Hoffa, there was "sufficient legislation now on the books to deal with any problems that arise in this field." He added: "We were never elected by our members to sell out labor by agreeing to legislation that would destroy the American labor movement. We are going to bring, not only to our members, but to the public at large, attention to the fact that this is the most serious attack on labor since the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947."

The council had to contend not only with Hoffa but with internal squabbles as well, which pointed up the still-tenuous nature of the merger of the AFL and CIO. Basically, the conflict between the industrial and the craft unions has not been resolved. On most issues the council divided with former CIO leaders on one side and former AFL leaders on the other. A hot jurisdictional dispute between the industrial Steelworkers and the craft Metal Trades Dept. was swept under the rug.

BIG RUG: Under the same rug too went other issues. They included: (1) A move to suspend Carpenter's president Maurice A. Hutcheson on charges of corruption; it was indefinitely postponed; (2) a request for reinstatement by the ILA which claims it has purged itself of corrupt influences; (3) charges of "communist infiltration" of the Packinghouse Workers by a former official who was defeated for reelection.

Deferred, too, was a request from the NAACP for a discussion of discrimination against Negroes by many unions. Meany said he would meet later with Negro leaders in New York. He said: "The federation shouldn't be in conflict with the NAACP. But the fact that a local is all white or all Negro is not conclusive proof that it is segregated. Nor do we accept the fact that a local has no Negro members as conclusive proof of segregation when the international union to which it belongs is integrated."

He added: "The general policy of the federation is to discourage segregation. But we can't crack heads together."

WEAK THIRD ACT: One area where Meany did not have to crack heads to get agreement was foreign policy. There was virtually no opposition to resolutions calling for: (1) the U.S. government to stand firm in its policy on Berlin; (2) rejection of Soviet Deputy Premier Mikoyan's proposal for exchange of trade union delegations; (3) condemnation of the Franco and Trujillo regimes; (4) "unions throughout the free world" to undertake a drive to end colonialism in Africa because "the longer colonialism lasts, the greater is the danger of communist penetration."

The council closed its session by voting a fund of $750,000 to "organize the unorganized." Federation membership was reported at 13,100,000, somewhat less than in 1955 after it expelled the 1,500,000-member Teamsters. Federation leaders felt the November election results indicated a climate conducive to organizing, and named white collar workers and the South as main targets. Some felt the appropriation was inadequate and that the resolution was mainly for the record.

BEHIND EUROPE'S MONETARY MANIPULATIONS—I

W. Germany rises to top as financial power

By Victor Perlo

(First of two articles)

DURING 1958 the capitalist world was plagued by numerous economic problems and conflicts and jolted by shifts in the balance of financial power. As a result, in the week which bridged 1958 and 1959, Western Europe underwent a series of economic rearrangements.

The short but sharp economic crisis which hit the U.S. had its repercussions in Western Europe. Some West European countries themselves were suffering from a shallower but sustained slump.

In France, 83% of manufacturers cut back production in late 1958. A drastic drop in prices and sales of raw materials led to financial crisis in the countries that produced them.

Western European countries were torn by disputes over regional economic cooperation and integration. Britain and France quarreled as the respective leaders of the Free Trade Area and the Common Market. London also watched with a jaundiced eye Bonn's advance as a powerful economic rival.

FREE TRADE AREA: Britain championed a 17-nation Free Trade Area in which member countries would remove barriers to trade in industrial goods among themselves and maintain tariffs and quotas for the rest of the world. But the British plan excluded agricultural products and retained the system of preferential trade within the British Commonwealth.

French business and finance opposed the British plan. Always jealous of Britain, it smarts from the fact that, even in the heyday of imperialism, it has played second fiddle to Britain and has been caught in Anglo- German power politics. It has been experiencing acute frustration in its attempts to restore France's "grandeur" by clinging to the remnants of its empire at a time when the colonial freedom movement is at flood tide.

If it joined the FTA it meant opening up the French domestic market to both British and German competition, and letting Britain dominate the FTA through access to cheap colonial raw materials. Bonn was willing to finance the development of raw material resources of French North Africa. French businessmen also figured they could limit German competition or share the exploitation of the domestic market through Franco-German cartel arrangements, some of which already were in effect.

THE COMMON MARKET: The French, therefore, advocated a smaller and tighter six-nation Common Market—patterned after the FTA—of France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. Such a treaty was signed in Rome in 1957. During 1958, Britain failed in its attempt to reach an FTA-Common Market compromise because West Germany, not at all averse to isolating Britain, gave full backing to France.

The climax came at the start of 1959 when the Common Market went into effect. The European Payments Union—whereby (1) the major West European countries engaged in trade without immediate settlement, and (2) a debtor country automatically received 25% credit on its payments—was abolished. It was replaced by the European Monetary Agreement, under which each country had to settle its account fully at the end of the month.

DEVALUATION: As 1958 drew to a close, rumors buzzed through Europe that Bonn planned to make the Deutsche Mark freely convertible currency. Britain jumped the gun by making its currency more freely convertible to foreign holders; other West European nations followed. France was obliged to go along with the others or face a disastrous capital flight away from the franc to the convertible pound or Mark. Already, in comparison to Britain's and West Germany's high gold and dollar reserves, France was running a $60,000,000 monthly foreign trade deficit.

In the face of growing competition, France also devalued the franc by 17½% (from 420 to 493.7 francs to the dollar), and the chief banks of world capitalism offered $450,000,000 to stabilize it. In return, President de Gaulle announced an "austerity" program which would cut living standards by sanctioning sharp price increases and a virtual wage freeze.

These reactionary responses to Western Europe's economic problems were dictated by the strong against the weak, the owners against the exploited. They aimed to stabilize capitalist economy in general, but their specific result would be to increase the profits and power of West German and American big business. The most direct victims are the French workers and the Algerians.

WHO GETS HURT: French big business wants a financial payoff for engineering the shackling of French labor through de Gaulle and setting up a regressive Fifth Republic. The surest way to higher profits is to raise prices while holding down wages.

Early in December the French General Confederation of Labor noted the constant lowering of living standards through price hikes, and, recently, through putting a million workers on part time. By currency devaluation, by decree and by cutting or eliminating cost-of-living subsidies, de Gaulle and Finance Minister Pinay have sharply raised the price of bread, milk, chocolate, rice, fuel, fares and many other items—even before the delayed effects of devaluation are felt.

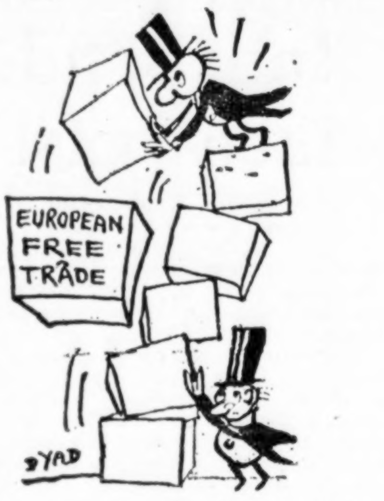
THE SELL-OUT CROWD: Consumer taxes are also up. Income taxes are higher, but the wealthy Frenchmen, whom Time magazine describes as "among the world's most adroit tax evaders," will find a way to dodge them. All wages are frozen, except for a 4% rise for the lowest paid workers and—with obvious social strategy — government employes, Veterans' and social security benefits are cut. While France sinks lower in international prestige and power, French financial interests, veterans at selling out their country, are looking forward to greater profits at the expense of their people.

The stabilization fund offered by U.S. and European banks will enable France to buy abroad more than it sells for another year or so in order to obtain supplies to pursue the Algerian war. France has accepted a further national indebtedness to allow the French colonials and industrialists to continue to exploit the Algerian people a while longer.

GERMANY'S ROLE: West Germany, as the most efficient producer of capitalist Europe, will gain an even more dominant position through the Common Market. In the EPU it achieved a favorable trade balance with other countries and accumulated large gold reserves. It holds over $6,000,000,000 in gold and foreign currencies—second only to the U.S.

Under the new EMA, European debtors will have to come to terms directly with West German bankers on outstanding balances. West Germany is owed almost $1,000,000,000, principally by France ($476,000,000) and Britain ($353,000,000). The industrial giants, I. G. Farben, Thyssen, Flick and the Deutsche Bank, are among those moving in on major French complexes and colonial minerals. French monopolies are again capitulating, this time even without military defeat.

WHAT'S IN IT FOR U.S.? The Common Market was a bitter blow to British capital. But by currency convertibility it hopes to keep on being banker for the sterling area and make London again a financial capital comparable to pre-war times.



Dyad in London Worker

"Mind your heads!"

American bankers and industrialists, however, stand to gain the most by the events in Western Europe at the turn of the year. But the attempts at a reactionary stabilization of world capitalist economy are not likely to achieve lasting success.

NEXT WEEK: U.S. industry and the Common Market.

SOUTH OF THE BORDER

Mexican observers still wonder what's back of Ike's 'good will' trip

By John Hill

Special to the Guardian

MEXICO CITY

AS PRESIDENT EISENHOWER took off for a weekend of golf in Georgia after his two-day visit with Mexican President Adolfo López Mateos at the seaside resort of Acapulco, thoughtful Mexicans were still asking why he came. Behind the pomp which paradoxically surrounds Washington's new "informal" diplomacy, it seems that little was accomplished.

Neither the fears nor the hopes awakened here by the trip seem to have been fulfilled, leaving relations between the U.S. and Mexico at something of a stalemate. The new Mexican government is not likely to alter its nationalist economic policies at home and its independent policy abroad, and it is not likely that Washington will reform its damaging trade practices or liberalize its credit policies designed to discourage government ownership of industries such as Petróleos Mexicanos.

Official pronouncements say the two Presidents talked in general terms about the more than ten-year-old project of building the Diablo Dam across the Rio Grande, the question of lead, zinc and coffee prices, and the screw-worm plague which is damaging livestock in both countries. They agreed that their governments "should cooperate and consult together" on cotton, which is Mexico's major export commodity, but two weeks before the Eisenhower visit, Washington unilaterally announced a substantial increase in the export subsidy of U.S. cotton beginning next Aug. 1, which is likely to lead to a world-wide price war.

HIDDEN MEANINGS? Despite Washington's insistence that the sole purpose of Eisenhower's trip was to get acquainted with López Mateos, some Mexican observers continue to search the sparse official declarations for hidden meanings. Could it be that two Presidents met to discuss only such matters as the screw-worm plague?

This skepticism is understandable after the massive advance publicity given the meeting here. While the U.S. press, on Washington's advice, graded the visit as a matter of "protocol and pleasantries," the major Mexican dailies built it up for more than a week as a historic occasion.

In the absence of concrete information about the purposes of the trip, the publicity—no doubt encouraged by the U.S. Embassy—consisted of minute descriptions of the fabulous preparations in Acapulco: The arrival and doings of the hundred-odd Secret Service men, the aerial shipment of Eisenhower's two cars (one for each day, apparently) and the marvellous bullet-proof glass dome with which one is equipped, the construction under American supervision of a special road and entrance to the wing of the hotel at which Eisenhower was going to stay, the arrest of all beggars and even English-speaking vagrants, the paving of the streets, the painting of the houses, the fumigation of the whole area.

ALL SECURE: While the Secret Service provoked no such incidents in Acapulco as took place during the Eisenhower visits to Ottawa and Geneva, the correspondent of the French periodical **ONU** experienced the efficiency of the security measures. Two minutes after he was heard to comment on the difficulties that a hypothetical assassin would encounter since Eisenhower was covered from all sides, he was arrested by two American agents.

Powell-Schuman case postponed

Special to the Guardian

SAN FRANCISCO

FURTHER POSTPONEMENT has occurred in the Powell-Schuman Case because of the government's failure thus far to obtain a treason indictment. Prosecution of newsmagazine writers John and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman for sedition because of articles they published in China during the Korean War ended in a mistrial Jan. 31, whereupon the government announced it would indict the three for treason on Feb. 11.

When the indictments were not forthcoming by Feb. 11, arraignment of the three was postponed to March 2. At that hearing the government said the indictments were delayed by the failure of certain "volunteer" witnesses to appear before the Federal grand jury.

A new hearing date has been set for March 11. The defendants continue free on bail.

FRIENDLY FOREIGN AID IS NEEDED

Independent Guinea faces vast problems

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

CONAKRY, GUINEA

THE OUTSTANDING impression gained here is that the Sekou Touré government is truly revolutionary—and faces formidable problems.

The **Parti Démocratique de Guinée** is firmly rooted in the vast majority of the population; the trade union, women's and youth movements are organized on an inter-tribal and inter-racial basis extending to every remote village in the bush; and the old self-defeating system of tribal chiefs' authority has been supplanted by that of the government.

But the colossal difficulties confronting the new Republic are expressed in facts like these:

- In the entire country (2,500,000 population) there are 57 doctors and one hospital.
- There are no higher educational institutions in the country; students must get their university training abroad. Secondary schools exist only in the capital; children elsewhere finish school at 14 or long before.

Many government members are working around the clock to make a start on these problems.

THE ROAD AHEAD: The major economic problems are the expansion and diversification of agriculture to reduce dependence on food imports; stabilization of export cash crops; development of natural resources; and industrialization.

France still takes most of the banana crop, but exports are recently off some 12%. The bottom had dropped out of the coffee market until a Soviet Trade Mission visiting here in February contracted for the entire crop.

Diamonds, most of which used to be smuggled out, are gradually being brought under government control with licensed diggers and buyers and a tax on all exports.

FOREIGN CONCESSION: Guinea's potentially largest exports are iron ore and bauxite. The country's largest industrial enterprise is a new plant at Fria to process bauxite into unrefined aluminum. An entire town there is under construction which, when the plant begins operation early next year, will have a population of nearly 30,000. Exports are destined for the U.S., Canada, Western Europe and the Cameroons. If proposed dams and power stations on the Konkouré river are built, Fria will produce finished aluminum.

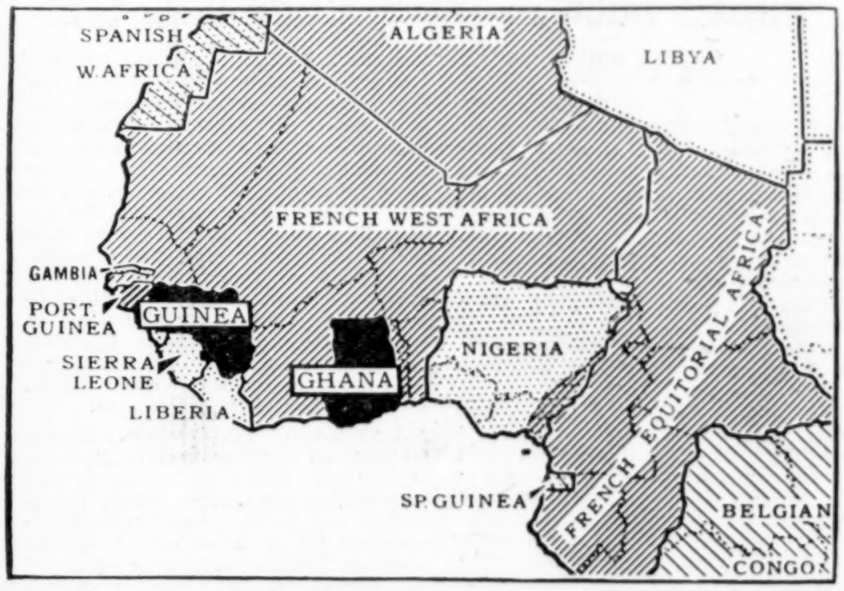
The enterprise is being run by a U.S.-French-Swiss combine which has a 75-year government concession with tax relief for the first 25 years. In return for the concession, Guinea receives royalties.

All members of the government, including President Touré, with whom I raised the question of nationalization of Fria, or any other foreign enterprise, were emphatic that this is impracticable. All of them repeated again and again that Guinea at present has neither the capital nor the ability to exploit fully its own resources and will need foreign aid of every kind.

UN ASSISTANCE: Agreements for UN Technical Assistance were signed in January, and negotiations for bilateral aid are getting under way. What the country needs immediately are doctors, teachers, engineers, agronomists and technical experts of every kind

With scientific and technical help, diversification of agriculture here should not be difficult; the country has ample water. But cattle must be bred for meat products, fishing must be expanded, and garden and plantation farming encouraged.

The basic diet here is rice, rather than root-crops, but I learned that much of the rice—like diamonds—finds its way across the border to Sierra Leone where the price is higher. The government is concentrating on halting this contraband trading, but it might be wiser to subsidize rice as a basic foodstuff and pay the peasant what he now gets across the border.



THE CHANGING MAP OF WEST AFRICA
The Ghana-Guinea Federation (black areas) is the beginning of a union of soon-to-be independent West African states

The problems confronting Guinea after four months of independence seem staggering but they are not insoluble if friendly nations provide aid on reasonable terms, and if the country remains united.

FEDERATION: But a larger unity is the ultimate goal of all young African leaders. Last November Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and President Sekou Touré signed a joint declaration of federation with the two states "forming a nucleus for a United States of West Africa." An appeal was issued to other African states, already independent or about to become independent, to join the federation.

A constitution welding the two countries together is yet to be written, but an immediate practical demonstration of solidarity was made when Ghana promptly advanced Guinea a credit of $28,000,000.

With Guinea remaining in the franc area and Ghana within the sterling bloc, coordination of economic policy will be slow. Both countries still find their major markets in the former metropolitan countries; trade between the two is practically non-existent.

MME. SEKOU TOURÉ
The wife of Guinea's President is a political leader in her own right: she headed her country's delegation to the recent All-African Peoples Conference held in Accra, Ghana, last December.

The two countries are not competitive in their exports. Both need what neither can supply the other.

ONE BIG CHANGE: But independence has meant one very concrete economic change: neither country is any longer **compelled** to remain tied to Great Britain or France respectively, but is free to shift its exports to other markets and control its imports accordingly. In recent months, there have been missions to both countries from West and East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Lebanon, the Soviet Union, and a UAR mission is expected shortly. The Italians have already been here and Israel, well established in Ghana, has already been asked to extend some of her services to Guinea, which will include shipping and construction. Guinea herself is sending three missions abroad—one to the West, a second to the East, and the third to cover the large area of Asia and the Middle East.

ONE CONTINENT: As the London **Economist** in a recent special Africa issue wrote: "In the press of international problems calling for decision and policy, the fateful revolution in Africa has hardly caught the [Western] statesmen's attention. Separate changes follow each other with bewildering speed, but there is not much tendency to see them whole as the refashioning of an entire continent."

That is the major point—the refashioning of an entire continent. The union of Ghana and Guinea is a beginning of vaster changes to come: Federation, and eventually union, will loom large once Nigeria gains her independence in 1960, as well as Togo, the Cameroons and Sierra Leone. Africa is on the march, and Africans, having staked their claim to freedom, will remain united as long as the fight for freedom continues.

The feeling all over Africa is overwhelmingly in favor of union—union in political, social, economic and cultural terms—and for a breakdown of the artificial frontiers drawn up by government clerks in far away places. Innumerable government officials here in Conakry are not Guinea-born, but come from Senegal or the Sudan, determined to put their services at the disposal of a free African state, for to them Africa is one.

APPEAL TO CONGRESS

Lawyers Guild fights renewed passport curbs

AS FEBRUARY CAME to a close the Natl. Lawyers Guild placed before every member of the House and Senate a report detailing its opposition to the Administration's plan to restore political curbs on the issuance of passports. The report points out that the Administration's persistence in efforts to counter the effects of the Supreme Court 1958 ruling in the Kent and Briehl passport cases "may be another example of the traditional desire of bureaucracy to perpetuate itself."

More serious, it saw in the State Dept's operations a continued attempt to violate basic freedoms of speech and association.

The Department seems to have accommodated itself only grudgingly to the Court ruling that the Secretary of State has no power to deny passports to citizens because of their political associations. It has continued to use applications with questions relating to Communist party membership, even though answers are not required. It continues to check applicants' names against a master list of political suspects. As a result some applicants have had to wait for weeks or months while the general public receives passports within a few days.

'PROTECTIVE ARREST': The Guild report points out that a number of measures now before Congress would restore the power to withhold passports for political reasons.

The Guild asserts that refusal to permit a person to travel because he may aid the Communist movement is "a form of preventive crime, of protective arrest or custody, inconsistent with our system of law."

On another front, the Emergency Civil LiLberties Committee announced that Waldo Frank, the author, has begun a proceeding to compel Judge Charles F. McLaughlin, in the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, to rule on Frank's passport suit against John Foster Dulles. Frank's original complaint, brought in November, 1948, asked for amendment of his passport to permit him to travel to China. The writer had been invited to lecture at the Institute of Peking on American literature.

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CAN FRANCO WEATHER THE STORM?

Bankrupt Spain seething with unrest

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

TWENTY YEARS AFTER smashing democracy with the aid of international fascism and Free World "non-intervention," Spanish dictator Franco faces stormy weather but continues confident that he can ride it out. At 67 his health is good, despite a recent operation for cancer of the prostate. Whenever the time comes, he will hand over the dictatorship to a "traditional Catholic monarchy"; in any event, he says, political parties must never return.

For this program the prevailing Westerly winds seem favorable. At New Year's he "noted with optimism" the developments in France, whose new regime "shows the degree of repulsion engendered by the parliamentary system in the very country which gave it birth." As a Free World Club member he has made his gesture by substituting a cordially autographed Eisenhower portrait for the "glowingly inscribed pictures of Hitler and Mussolini" which formerly hung over his desk (C. L. Sulzberger, N.Y. **Times**, 2/8).

U.S. STAKE: Spain is bankrupt and seething with discontent, and the future of the dictatorship—whether in Franco's or other hands—clearly depends on continuing U.S. aid. Intl. Monetary Fund delegates, now in Spain inspecting the chaos and corruption after the previous loan, are expected to recommend more aid if the peseta is devalued and export regulations are tightened.

Franco hopes to get it without strings, gambling that the U.S. can't afford to withhold it, since Spanish bases are an integral part of the cold war. Currency devaluation would deepen the miseries of Spain's already half-starved people. The present loose export regulations have further enriched Franco's banker and industrialist backers by enabling them to smuggle out hundreds of millions of dollars into secret Swiss accounts.

RESISTANCE GROWS: A spate of mass trials in recent months shows how popular resistance is broadening and becoming more active. In June, 47 men and women were given up to seven-year jail terms for "fomenting" the 1957 boycott of public transport in Barcelona.

In Madrid in November and December, sentences ranged up to 15 and 20 years for promoting last May's "Day of National Reconciliation"—an effort to bury differences among the opposition, from working to middle class, in common struggle against inflation and terror.

Asturian miners got up to 15 and 20 years for "communist activity" in striking last spring. Again in Barcelona, 15 years was top sentence for 19 charged with circulating leaflets before the strike of 50,000 workers there last March ("military rebellion").

Scores of others are still undergoing daily pre-trial "interrogation" in the cellars of Himmler-trained political police.

These trials—unmentioned in the censored Spanish press—were barely noted in Western newspapers since the victims were actual or purported Communists. (The Barcelona victims are Catalan United Socialists—a Communist-Socialist fusion party.)

NEW ACTS FORCE NOTICE: The arrests of some 80 Socialists, including prominent intellectuals and professional people, in November and December drew world-wide attention and anguished denunciation. A British lawyers' delegation of protest was received and heard at the Spanish Embassy in London. Many of the Socialists were released under house arrest to await their trial for "indulging in illicit propaganda."

Meanwhile it was reported that 2.000 Seville aircraft workers demonstrating for more pay were forced back to the factories by police with tommy-guns (Jan. 23); "several thousand" Madrid University students went on strike (Feb. 13); and "Workers Front" leaflets demanding action against currency swindlers were flooding the country.

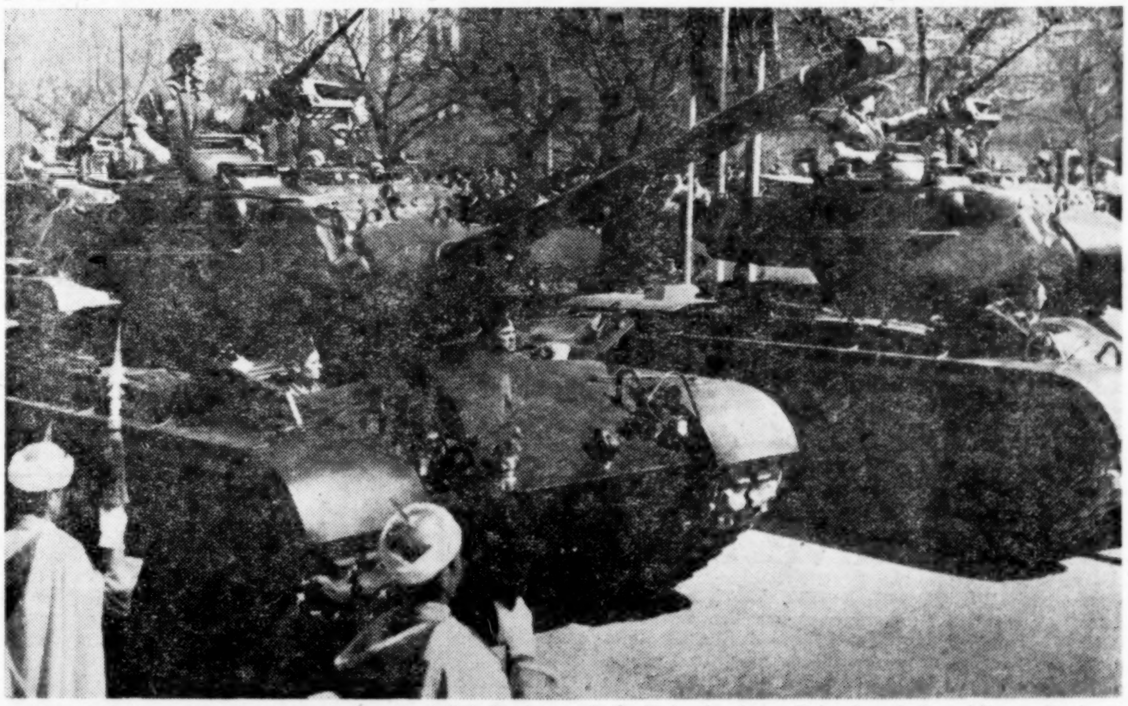
The ferment really hit Western front-pages when right-wing poet Dionisio Ridruejo was tried for "slandering" Franco; the Spanish Bar Assn. demanded abolition of the special "treason" trial courts; and a Monarchist group of bankers, industrialists, professors and army officers formed a "new party," the Union Espanola, at a banquet in a Madrid hotel Jan. 29. Ridruejo got a nominal sentence and was promptly "amnestied" in honor of the new Pope. Joaquin de Satrustegui, wealthy Basque Monarchist who criticized Franco at the banquet, was fined a nominal $12,500.

A MILD MONARCHY? Some saw Franco weakening. Others saw him as "hoping to convince American opinion of the mildness of his regime" (London **Observer**) by clemency toward elements not seriously threatening the dictatorship. The Union Espanola said it favored "free association" which was "not contrary to the monarchy or the dynasty," an "authentic system of representation" which would "intervene in the preparation of laws," and freedom of opinion which did not "disturb public order."

Practical-minded republicans see their best short-term hope in a Monarchist revival which would remove the ban on party-political activity. (Liberal Monarchists favor this.) All elements in Spain seek to avoid further bloodshed, and such a regime offers a possible road back to basic rights and legality. Reports from inside Spain indicate broad rank-and-file unity on this program, but factionalism continues among the exiled parties and the aging leaders of the Socialist Party cannot agree on it.

THIS IS SPAIN TODAY

Below: Tanks bought and paid for in America rumble through the streets of Madrid with their Spanish crews in a review before the Generalissimo. Above, poverty-stricken Spaniards wonder when the scourge will leave their Spanish earth.



At the Socialist congress last August in Toulouse, France, Luis Araquistain (former Republican ambassador to Germany and Mexico, now living in Switzerland) pleaded for cooperation with any government—even Franco's—which would let the party function. Indalecio Prieto, ailing party boss resident in Mexico, won the majority for his refusal to support any monarchical regime unless the people voted for it, in an election under a "neutral" provisional government.

PRICES, TAXES UP: From Toulouse the Socialists and the Anarchists publish (and smuggle into Spain) their organs **El Socialista** and **Solidaridad Obrera**; the CP speaks through **Mundo Obrero** and the Radio Independiente, reportedly in Prague. The old UGT trade union set-up also carries on skeletally in Toulouse, but the trend within Spain is to work and go after key positions in Franco's official "unions."

El Socialista, which likes to compare Franco's tyranny with the U.S.S.R., recently said that if only Spain were a "Soviet satellite" like Hungary, the Free World would pay some attention to its plight. The paper compared basic commodity prices in June 1936 and June 1958, showing an average rise of over 1,200% while wages rose 600%.

The London **Observer** reported last month (February) that prices in Madrid had risen 130% in the past year. Another cause of broadening anti-Franco activity is skyrocketing taxation which, together with the total corruption on all levels, squeezes out small business and leaves the professional classes with less than subsistence.

OUTSIDE PRESSURE: On one thing all opposition groups agree: Franco's regime is more susceptible than it ever was to outside pressure. The effectiveness of sending observers to political trials in Spain, and circulating their reports to Western democratic groups and press, has been demonstrated since 1952 by the Intl. Brigade Assn.-Friends of Republican Spain in London.

In many such cases sentences were below expectations (e. g., four years—and permission to go to Mexico after release—for Lopez Raimundo in 1952; four-year top sentences for 38 young Catalan Socialists, and remission of two Anarchists' death sentences, in 1953; seven years top for the Barcelona 47 in 1958).

Other "obesrved" trials were those of Freemasons, peace advocates, and members of the very active Basque and Catalan Nationalist groups.

The trial observers—Laborite lawyers and MP's—have represented various British groups although it was always the IBA-FRS that raised the expenses.

PROTESTS NEEDED: The observers commended the vigor of the victims' defense, which generally stresses police torture and the plea of "no jurisdiction" by the military court. Among less atrocious tortures were suspension for 27 hours by ropes tied to wrists and ankles, three days' "electrical treatment," and beating of a victim's wife before his eyes to make him inform on others.

Lawyer Richard Turner, observer at the Barcelona 47 trial, saw the scars on one woman who tried suicide after coming from the police's hands; another victim had gone mad after interrogation. Turner pointed out that all those arrested—even if acquitted—lost both job and pension, and there was no means of supporting their families.

The mass arrest of Socialists has brought Socialist parties and major unions of the West into the active arena of struggle, and as a result it is already reported that the Socialists' trial will be in a civil court. While the IBA-FRS carries on its work, Britain's Labor Party promises a nation-wide appeal for its newly-set-up Spanish Democrats Defense Fund, which will pay for an observer at the Socialists' still-unscheduled trial.

Protests—more potentially effective now than at any time since 1939—may be directed to Spanish embassies and consulates, to the press, and to the State Dept.

Subversive literature

SPAIN, NOW AN ESTABLISHED Free World ally against "atheistic communism," is still the only country in the world where printing, importing or distributing the Bible is illegal. Reporting a "Day of Prayer" held on Feb. 8 by Spain's persecuted Protestants, the London **Times** noted: "All the Bibles and New Testaments of the Bible Society in Spain were confiscated nearly three years ago. All evangelical schools are still closed, as is the Union Theological Seminary in Madrid . . . During the past year eight more churches have been closed."

In the U.S.S.R. a magnificent new edition of the Bible was published three years ago. In China, Cedric Belfrage found 57 complete or partial editions of the Bible on sale in 1957.

BOOKS

The long odyssey of Edgar Snow

THE TWENTIES, Thirties and Forties of our century were a time for greatness in the field of journalism. Edgar Snow was one of several Americans who met the challenge with distinction, while others laid foundations for the succeeding period of conformity and cowardice.

Snow's **Red Star Over China**—the first account of the Chinese Communists' Long March—testified outstandingly to the three journalistic gifts which were his: the "luck" to be at hand where history was being made, the vision to recognize it, and the courage to tell it truthfully.

He knew all the leading players in China's revolutionary epic, and his "personal history"* brings together the best of his recollections—some not previously published—of Mao, Chou (whose wife he smuggled through Japanese lines as an "amah"), Chiang, Lu Hsun, Mme. Sun Yat-sen and her sisters, Rewi Alley (with whom he founded the Industrial Co-Ops), British Ambassador Clark-Kerr and many more.

More fragmentary, but often illuminating, are his memories of Indo-China, Indonesia, India and Burma in those pre-eruption days, and of Russia during and after the war; of Gandhi and Nehru, of Litvinov and FDR, of Ibn Saud who held forth in his slave-maintained palace on "us democracies" and complained of being broke.

IN PILING UP this unique sum of experience, Snow had several narrow escapes from death and an even narrower one from a life of frustration as an Associated Press spot-news reporter. (He needed the money, but bet his last dollars on a horse: it won, so he turned the job down.)

But there were other dangers: by the early Thirties he was listed in police dossiers as a "Comintern agent," and finally he found himself "named" before Washington witch-hunters. The same fate met John Paton Davies and all the other "China experts" for the State Dept. who were guilty of perceiving that Chiang was a lost cause. They were accused by ex-Communist Freda Utley, Joe McCarthy's "China adviser," of being "red traitors" who represented the Chinese Communists as "agrarian reformers." In fact, as Snow shows in his book, the only spreader of that myth had been Freda Utley herself.

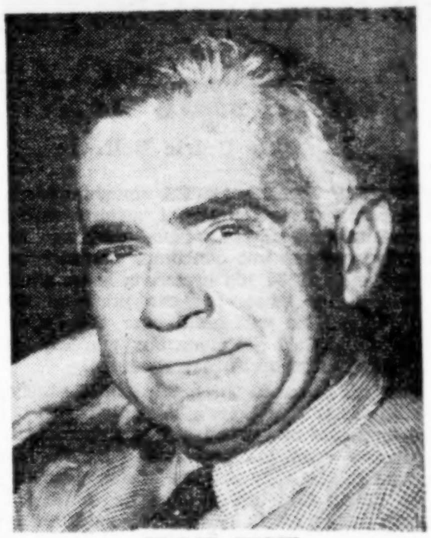
This bitter ending in the cold-war period was inevitable for Snow because he was a man who tried to see things as they were—unlike the Gen. Wedemeyers who, living in the same milieu, saw either nothing or the opposite of what was there. "Christian" Chiang's China was famine, flood and pestilence, degradation and corruption and enslavement—and naked violence against all who tried to put an end to them, with the West solemnly dominating the scene as chief hypocrite. The Communists, on the other hand, were self-sacrificing, heroic and efficient.

SO MUCH WAS CLEAR to any observer without blinkers, and Snow was one of the Americans on the scene too honest not to say it. Yet of the others in this little band he either says little (Agnes Smedley) or gives us a thin portrait (Evans Carlson).

As he looks back over it all now, in a highly personal context including his marriage and occasional amorous encounters, the character to whom he is least able to give three dimensions is himself. In quotations from his own writings he works unnecessarily hard to prove that he was and is not a Communist, but he conveys little response in depth to what he saw, heard and did. He seems to have leaned slightly toward Marxism, then dabbled in Fabianism; one can soon bet that the final tribute will be to Gandhi, and so it is.

Other self-quotations prove how often he was right in forecasting events, but an admission or two that he was wrong would bring him closer to the reader.

OF THE PROBLEMS of the first socialist revolution he shows notably little grasp; he dismisses Khrushchev in one petty sentence, and is painfully woolly on Soviet-Chinese relations. More surprising, however, since many of the quotations are from the **Saturday Evening Post**, is that he could get into that journal anything that even partook of sanity on these subjects.



EDGAR SNOW
It took luck, vision and courage

That Snow has not been able to rise as a writer and thinker to the full measure of his extraordinary experience, is perhaps another of the tragedies of the cold war.

He has "supped full of horrors," and sat at the feet of heroes, and nothing can detract from his accomplishment in recording it all so that the world might not continue in blindness. If our press were truly free, he might have added up the score of his life in a less vague set of conclusions for the edification of the less fortunate. —**Cedric Belfrage**

* *JOURNEY TO THE BEGINNING, by Edgar Snow. Random House, N.Y. 423 pp. $5. January selection of Liberty Book Club, its final hard-cover book, $3.50 to members. Liberty Book Club, 100 W. 23 St., N.Y.*

War in the intestines of war

IN REPLY to a question by TV **Night Beat** interviewer Mike Wallace, "What do you think of the American Legion?", 89-year-old architect Frank Lloyd Wright quipped:

"I never think of it if I can help it." Asked why, Wright continued:

"They're professional warriors, aren't they? I'm against war, always have been, always will be, and anything connected with it is anathema to me. I've never considered it necessary and I think one war only breeds another, and I think I've been borne out by the reading of history, haven't I? One war always has in it, in its intestines, another, and another has another. So why be for war, and if you're not for war, why are you for warriors?"

—From **Mike Wallace Asks:** excerpts from 46 TV interviews with Orval Faubus, Ben Hecht, Jayne Mansfield, Klansman Eldon Lee Edwards, Eleanor Roosevelt, socialite-author Cleveland Amory, jockey Eddie Arcaro, Tallulah Bankhead, Tennessee Williams, others. Large-size paperbound, illustrated. Simon & Shuster, $1.95.

'We have been waiting for you a long time, Boris'

FOR THE LIFE OF ME, EVERY TIME I look at the title page of Boris Morros' **My Ten Years As A Counterspy,*** I cannot help adding a subtitle: **And How They Grew.** The inspiration comes from Boris himself. Early in his book he writes:

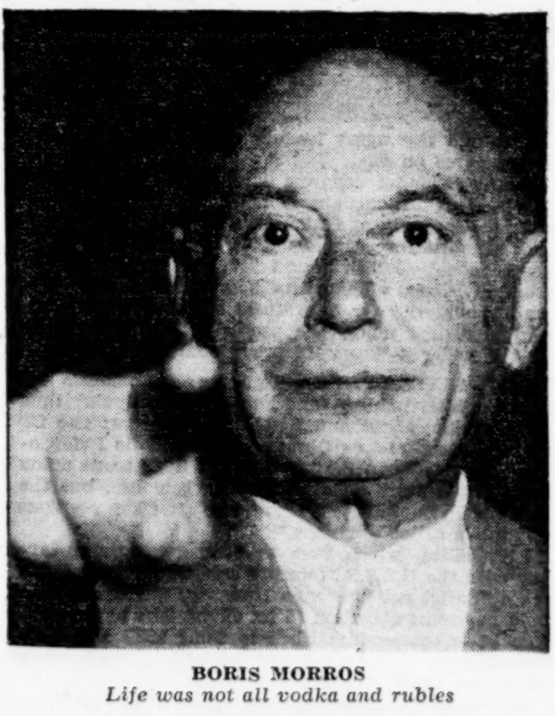
"I am not a man to quarrel with the Broadway adage, 'A little embellishment never ruined a good story.' I also subscribe to the theory, 'If you are in show business, truth employed indiscriminately can turn into the shovel you are using to dig your own grave.' "

In this respect, if in few others, Boris is a discriminating man, even if a grimy shovel does peep embarrassingly out from under his cloak all too often. It is against this background that the reader, whom Boris invites to be "judge and jury of my actions and character," must consider his verdict.

Mine is that Boris — a roly-poly Hollywood-type producer-promoter and bon vivant—is a pretty clever fellow with an adding-machine mind that can figure in a flash the equation between patriotism (pardon the expression) and a fast buck. I can see the film scenario of the book even now—a hoked-up Eric Ambler spy thriller with Abbott & Costello, rolled up in one, playing Boris. It would be hilarious if it were not for the fact that three people are in prison as a result of Boris Morros' collaboration with the FBI, a fourth may join them, and at least half a dozen others have been hounded out of the country.

THIS IS NOT A COMMENT on the findings against those in prison—charges of espionage are a thoroughly unpleasant business and it is an international axiom that in many such cases few know where truth ends and fantasy begins—but it is a comment on the FBI and its fellow travelers. For one needs compass, divining rod, geiger counter, atlas and calendar to sort out Boris' dates, travels, places and assignations.

Boris says his saga as a double agent—for the Russians (since 1937) and for the FBI—began on a day in 1947 when he walked into FBI headquarters in Los Angeles ("We have been waiting for you for a long time, Boris"). It ended in 1957 when he bubbled to the surface with the arrest of Jack and Myra Soble and Jacob Albam, the TV shows and interviews, the lurid charges and insinuations against Americans living abroad.



BORIS MORROS
Life was not all vodka and rubles

HE GOT INVOLVED with the Russians, Boris says, simply because he needed help to send parcels to his family in the Soviet Union. Well, one thing led to another and, before you could say Lavrenti Beria, he was up to his double chin. The description of his Russian playmates is Keystone Kop vintage:

- "He seized me by the coat lapels and slammed me against a wall. Then he shoved a gun which he had in his pocket against my stomach." (All this backstage at a mammoth Russian War Relief show in a Los Angeles theater, with people milling all around.)
- "He beat his chest, flexed his arms. I felt that his bulging eyes were almost boring holes through me. You **have** to do what I say. You know I am strong. I play tennis every day, four hours, seven hours, ten hours . . . "

At various times Beria's boys confided in him (1) the name of the NKVD chief in the U.S.; (2) the time and place of an alleged assassination of Marshal Tito—which Boris never bothered to report to the FBI; (3) the date of the outbreak of the Korean war. What blabbermouths! But then what can you expect of a gang of louts constantly sozzled in vodka (they roared, like all Hollywood Russians) and glassy-eyed from "sexual excess" (Boris can be most delicate).

THE INTRIGUE AND THE ESPIONAGE are foggy indeed; but sparkling clear is the fact that Boris never stopped trying to wangle a packet of rubles out of the Russians for his vague business ventures. Capital and Cause were confused.

Boris says Moscow wanted him to get the goods on Tom Dewey (what in Karl Marx's name for?), plant a secretary in Cardinal Spellman's office, and "get something on President Eisenhower." (This last was in July, 1951; Eisenhower was elected in November, 1952.)

Far from being "hounded by the Communists," Boris seems to have waddled after them in almost every European capital, despite what he describes as the constant peril to his life.

He never explains why it took him ten years to go to the FBI—just one of those things. But there are many facets of his "flamboyant" (his word) career that surely do want explaining. For example, Walter Winchell's cryptic comment (Sept. 4, 1957): "Nobody is bothering him about it but Red spy-catcher Boris Morros owes Uncle Sam a whopping tax bill."

Things like this could explain a lot. But who's going to worry about a few bucks? Boris never did—no matter **where** they came from.

—**James Aronson**

**MY TEN YEARS AS A COUNTERSPY, by Boris Morros as told to Charles Samuels. Viking Press, New York. 248 pp. $3.95.*

Supreme Court

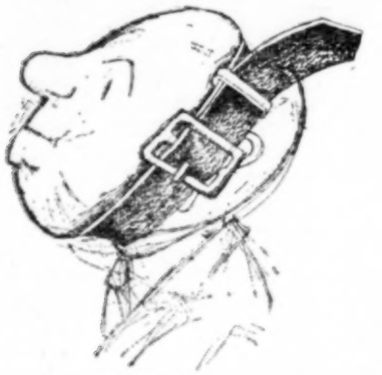
(Continued from Page 1)

munist leaders and ordered new trials for nine others.

THE WHOLE GAMUT: The ABA also called upon Congress to:

- Restore the State Dept.'s authority to withhold passports for political reasons and its right to base such action on confidential information.

- Reactivate state laws against subversion which the Court had declared inoperative because the Federal government had pre-empted the field with the Smith Act.



The latest . . .

- Extend the Federal employe security program to non-sensitive jobs.

- Rewrite the charter of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to firm up its authority which has been waning ever since the Court in 1957 freed labor leader John Watkins of a contempt of Congress charge. The Court found then that questions put by the Committee were not related to a clearly defined legislative purpose and that its mandate was vague.

- Require the deportation of aliens who were Communists at the time they entered the U.S. or at any time thereafter.

BROWN'S IN TOWN: The Association recommendations, passed by voice vote in its 246-member House of Delegates, had been prepared by a special Committee on Communist Tactics, Strategy and Objectives headed by Peter Campbell Brown, former New York City Corporation Counsel and a former chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Opponents of the Brown report succeeded in softening some of its language in the course of debate but there seems to have been no serious effort to alter its basic content. Chicago attorney Albert E. Jenner Jr. successfully fought to eliminate the charge that in its civil liberties decisions the Court had invoked "technicalities against the protection of our nation." This amounted to calling the Bill of Rights a technicality, he noted—scarcely a becoming posture for the legal profession. And the N.Y. Times commented that "one man's technicality may be another man's property, liberty or life."

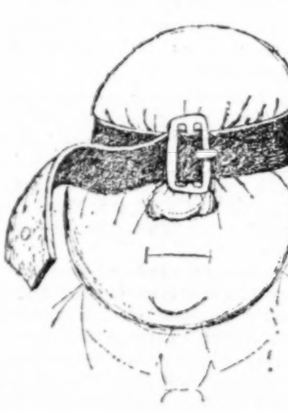
WORDS—NOT ACTION: Jenner hailed the wording change as a "victory" and expressed satisfaction that the resolution as adopted "recognizes that the problem rests with the wording of laws and not with the actions of the Supreme Court." But Brown said the revision was a matter of "semantics."

Even though the report condemned proposals for an outright limitation on the Court's jurisdiction, the lawyers left no doubt that they resented the justices' concern for the constitutional rights of individual citizens.

In the Senate, Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) introduced a proposal to amend the Constitution to affirm the Supreme Court's jurisdiction over all questions involving validity of state and Federal laws. Joined by seven other Senators in the move, Javits warned of an all-out drive by 'court raiders' to curb the Court.

WARREN QUITS ABA: The Court's authority as the final arbitrator on constitutional matters has been upheld by tradition and decisions of the justices themselves, but is not now written into the Constitution. Javits warned that passage of such measures as were included in last year's Jenner-Butler bill would destroy the Court's effectiveness as "ultimate protector of the rights of individuals and minorities."

The rift between the Bar and the Court was underscored during the course of the conference by the formal announcement that Chief Justice Earl Warren had resigned from the ABA last fall. While neither Warren's office nor ABA officials would offer a reason for the resignation, the only explanation suggested in widespread public speculation was that the Chief Justice resented the Association's criticism as much as the lawyers deplored the Court's liberalism.



Paris fashions . . .

THEY'RE ALL BACK: The American Legion joined the fray by announcing its support of the Association's findings. Preston J. Moore, national commander, said the Legion had passed similar resolutions in 1957 and 1958. He contended that the action of the lawyers and the ex-servicemen was proof of the "urgent need for corrective legislative action."

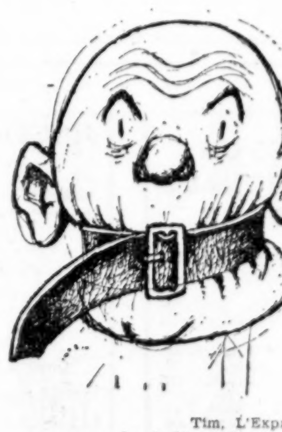
A FIGHT IS PROMISED: All anti-Court bills in the House must first be reviewed by a subcommittee of the Judiciary headed by Rep. Edwin E. Willis (D-La.). Willis greeted the ABA resolution with the promise to push for quick House action on the bills. Last year the House passed a similar set of measures in the closing days of the session but the Senate, in the customary rush to adjourn, defeated them by the narrowest of margins.

House Judiciary Committee chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) expressed the liberals' determination to "fight like hell" against the bills, but he conceded "we'll probably get licked." This admission of defeat before the battle is fully joined was a tribute to the weight which Congress attaches to recommendations of the Bar Assn.; but it also seemeed to discount the potential influence of the vast majority of Americans whose stake in civil liberties, while not professional, is certainly personal.

WHAT YOU CAN DO: The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee urged its supporters to write letters to their Congressmen and to members of the House Judiciary Committee, both at the House Office Building, Washington, D.C., urging votes against all bills which would weaken the protection of the Bill of Rights. It further suggested that Congressmen be visited during the Easter recess, the last week in March.

Of some 230,000 attorneys in the country, 94,000 are members of the ABA. As in most organizations, rarely do more than 10% of the membership attend meetings and take part in the activities of the local bar associations. These groups are often controlled by small cliques of the most politically ambitious of the nation's lawyers.

The anti-civil liberties position adopted in Chicago may therefore be said to represent the known view of a minority of the nation's lawyers. But unless this viewpoint is challenged vigorously, the ABA's proposals, with some modifications, may become law for all the American people.



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May Day conference in New York March 7

AS A RESULT of 300 petition signatures from members of 30 local unions in New York City, a conference called for Sat., March 7 at 1 p.m., at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave., plans a 1959 May Day celebration to rally support for the six-hour day and the 30-hour week.

The call to the Conference was issued by a trade union committee headed by Jack Finn, rank-and-filer of District 65, Distributive Workers.

Kent report on Soviet tour in N.Y. March 7

ROCKWELL KENT will report on his trip to the Soviet Union Sat., March 7, in the Rainbow Club House, 150 W. 85 St. The meeting is sponsored by the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship, of which Kent is national chairman.

Kent's trip coincided with an exhibition of his paintings and drawings on tour in the U.S.S.R., and followed his successful year-long battle to win a passport. The meeting is at 8 p.m. Admission is $1.

LOS ANGELES

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Press distortion

(Continued from Page 1)

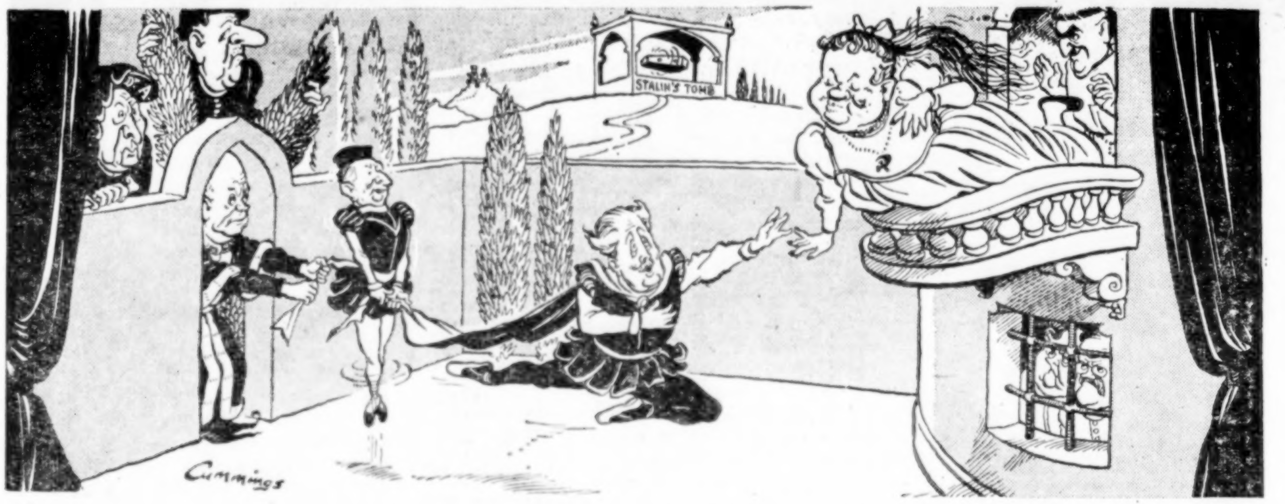
the illusion that his visit has eased world tension" and thus promote "a Conservative victory in a possible British general election this spring"; (4) He was provoked by a number of Macmillan's irritating remarks and interruption of "Khrushchev's rambling review of the world situation with a reminder that the Western powers were solidly behind the rejection of the Soviet proposals on Berlin." And so on.

THE AUGUST SENATE: President Eisenhower said at a press conference: "We are not going to give one single inch in the preservation of our rights" in Berlin. In the Senate, Dodd (D-Conn.) called the President's position "morally right" and said the U.S. should embark on a 90-day crash program to prepare the American people, the economy and the national defenses for possible war. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.) and Morton (R-Ky.) said Dodd's speech would "help prevent miscalculation" by Moscow.

Sen. Fulbright (D-Ark.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, agreed that Soviet policies were "wrong and unwise," but cautioned against the "habit of thought that there can never be changes in the Soviet regime." Jackson (D-Wash.) proposed that the President call up four or five additional divisions to tell Moscow "we mean business."

Russell (D-Ga.) Ellender (D-La.), Humphrey (D-Minn.), Javits (R-N.Y.) and Keating (R-N.Y.) categorically opposed German reunification through East-West German negotiations. Majority whip Mansfield (D-Mont.) showed the strain he was under for his advocacy of direct East-West German negotiations. He urged an appeal to the UN and at the same time proposed that the U.S. consider nationwide mobilization in case the Berlin crisis "breaks out."

THE SEA INCIDENT: Adding to the sense of crisis, Washington announced that on Feb. 26 officers from the U.S. Navy's radar picket escort ship Roy O. Hale had boarded a Soviet fishing trawler about 120 miles northeast of St. John's, Nfld. It was investigating the cutting of a trans-oceanic cable which was said to have been damaged five times within a week.



Cummings, London Daily Express

Cummings' review of the ballet Romeo and Juliet recently performed in Moscow.

Lieut. Comdr. E. J. Korte reported: "The master of the trawler was friendly and cooperative and there were no indications of intentions other than fishing." Later, however, Lieut. Donald Sheely, a member of the boarding party, said that he considered it "feasible that the trawler could have cut the cable with its fishing gear alone, but I wouldn't say whether by accident or intentionally."

According to the N.Y. **Times**, some observers felt the boarding operation was a warning to Moscow that its "'activity in the North Atlantic was under constant surveillance and control of NATO sea power." The Soviet press called the action unlawful.

On Feb. 28 the Philippine Navy boarded five Soviet trawlers off the coast of Luzon and detained them for investigation. The vessels, en route to Vladivostok from the Baltic Sea, had dropped anchor when one of them broke down with engine trouble.

CALM IN BRITAIN: It was doubtful if the American people shared Washington's foreboding. The latest Gallup poll, Feb. 26, disclosed that 38% of those questioned considered keeping the peace "the most important problem facing the country today."

In Britain the press reaction was calm. The **Manchester Guardian's** Moscow correspondent Michael Frayn reported that the Macmillan delegation did not consider Khrushchev's speech "as a rebuff." Many papers agreed with the London **Daily Express** that a summit meeting was worthwhile because it would be "a gathering of the men on whose shoulders fall the final responsibility . . . in the chief nations of the world."

In West Germany, the **Times** reported, there was support "at almost all levels of German society" for the newsweekly **Der Spiegel's** blunt statement that East and West Germany must talk rather than face a war over Berlin.

WILL IKE GO? Some observers agreed with editor John Fischer of **Harper's** (March, '59) that it was as much in America's interest as the Soviet Union's to work for a demilitarized Berlin and a "loose federation" of East and West Germany pledged to neutrality on the Austrian pattern.

They also agreed with British Labor Party leader Hugh Gaitskell that a summit meeting was preferable because "the fact is that just at present the foreign ministers available are not very important people." Gaitskell also "saw no reason to object to Mr. Khrushchev's suggestion that Poland and Czechoslovakia take part."

The N.Y. **Post** said: "The President has often insisted he would go anywhere and talk to anyone to promote peace. Perhaps it is time to match his words with action. Ninety days at the summit might be more useful than 90 days of 'preparedness'."

Bay Area audience to hear former Alcatraz chaplain

THE SAN FRANCISCO Bay Area Council of Sobell Committee will honor the Reverend Peter McCormack, the Protestant chaplain who was dismissed from his Alcatraz post 15 months ago, at a dinner meeting Fri., March 13, at San Francisco's Whitcomb Hotel.

Rev. McCormack will speak on his experiences at Alcatraz during Morton Sobell's imprisonment there. Rev. McCormack declined to comment on newspaper reports of his dismissal at that time but has decided to tell his story—not only about Sobell as he knew him but on other aspects on "The Rock."

His title will be "Alcatraz Was My Parish." The dinner is scheduled for 7:30 p.m. Tickets are $5. Reservations may be made through the Committee's offices at 345 Franklin St., Rm. 302, San Francisco, or by calling UNderhill 1-1334.

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LOS ANGELES

DINNER - MEETING
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Sat., March 14, 7 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4 St. Phone AN 9-4935 or WE 5-9238 for reservations.

9TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE will take place Sat., Mar. 28, from 10 a.m., Victoria Ballroom, 2570 W. Pico Blvd. Program: Repeal of Walter-McCarran Law, Status of Mexican Nationals, Defense of Victims. Organizations invited to send delegates and observers. Visitors welcome. L.A. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 326 W. 3 St., Rm. 318, Los Angeles 13, Cal.

JOSEPH NORTH, veteran journalist just returned from Cuba, will give eye-witness report on Cuban revolution; Brownie McGhee, guitarist and folk-singer; Sonny Terry, renowned harmonica player and folk singer will be guest artists at 21st Anniversary Celebration of PEOPLES WORLD. Fri., Mar. 20, Embassy Auditorium, 9th & Grand. Adm. 90c.

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Dr. Harry C. Steinmetz, Chrmn.
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MINNEAPOLIS

DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN
educator, author, lecturer, speaks on
OUTLOOK FOR UNITED SOCIALIST POLITICAL ACTION
Sun., March 15, 8 p.m., Andrews Hotel, Rm. M-3. Joint Auspices Guardian Associates & Twin City Labor Forum.

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SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN
8:30—Latin America Today
MICHAEL CRENOVICH
Wednesdays (Mar. 18, 25 & Apr. 1)
6:45—The New Soviet 7-Year Plan
MYER WEISE
8:30—The Chinese Communes
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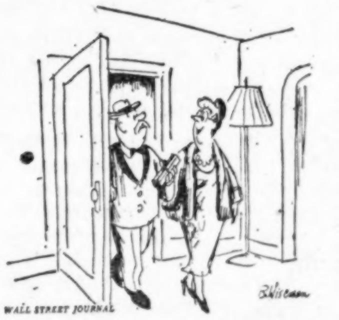
THE GALLERY

A DOCUMENTARY FILM on the life of Anne Frank, a Jewish girl who took refuge from the Nazis in an attic of a gentile family in Amsterdam, opened last week in Amsterdam, Warsaw and East Berlin. The film, produced by an East German company, calls for tracking down Anne Frank's murderers "who are living today in West Germany." The company also issued a booklet containing names of people who are described as "the promoters of the Jewish persecutions in Germany, who are still at large today." The film precedes by a few weeks the showing of an American movie based on the play and book, **The Diary of Anne Frank.** The E. Germans also recently distributed a film in Europe called **Operation Teutonic Sword,** a documentary on the life of German Gen. Hans Speidel, commander of the NATO ground forces. . . . Henry A. Wallace disclosed that he voted for Eisenhower in 1956. He said he was not certain whom he would support in 1960. But, he added, "I will vote for the person who will do a real, imaginative job on the foreign front, in the interest of world peace. That's why I voted for Ike."

FROM HERB CAEN'S COLUMN in the San Francisco **Chronicle:** "Atty. Vincent Hallinan's oldest son, Patrick, enrolled at Hastings Law College and told Dean Dave Snodgrass that his five equally noted brothers would soon be following one upon the other. The Dean's face was a study of mixed emotions, and even his habitual green eyeshade was seen to turn pale." . . . At a banquet in their honor in Peking given by the Chinese Peace Committee and the People's Assn. for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Dr. and Mrs. DuBois were warmly applauded for singing a duet of "Ain't Gonna Study War No More." . . . When the revolutionary army marched into Havana, Fidel Castro ordered a supply of uniforms from a Miami firm. Unknown to him was that the company was on strike and was operated by scabs. When members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers told him of the situation, he wired the company to settle the strike or cancel the order. The strike ended two days later with the strikers getting most of what they demanded. . . . Headline in the N.Y. **Times** Feb. 27: "Labor and Industry Seen Drifting Apart."



Wall Street Journal
"What do I get for MY 20 years of loyal service?"

NBC BOARD CHAIRMAN Robert W. Sarnoff answered charges that there are too many commercials on television: "As a matter of fact, some of the commercials are better than some of the shows." . . . To reassure members after a recent spate of robberies, the American Bankers Assn. announced: "Bankers are smarter than bandits. It behooves all bankers to remember that in matters of intelligence, ingenuity and bravery, robbers are not a superior lot. Given a fair break, bankers could beat the best of them." . . . Donald Wise, London **Daily Express** man in Kenya, writes of the Queen Mother's visit: "Until Sister Betty Milne raised her own lone, loyal cheer for the Queen Mother at today's garden party at Kisumu, I was ashamed of being a Briton." He adds: "Kisumu will go down as the worst welcome of Queen Elizabeth's two-week tour of Kenya. Silent crowds lined the streets—and did nothing more. They stood stony faced with folded arms." . . . A listener-sponsored radio station, KPFK-FM, has started in Los Angeles offering superior educational programming. Further information is available from Terrell Drinkwater, Rm. 5, Virginia Bldg., 1153 No. Western Av., L.A. 29.

BIO-CHEMIST DR. JOHN LYMAN is working on "frozen sleep" therapy for humans which, he says, could lead to "fantastic developments" in space travel, medicine and economics. "Suppose," he says, "there is overpopulation or unemployment. People could be frozen until times were better." . . . Union paper **Ford Facts** tells the story of a worker who was employed by Ford Motors for 25 years and was honored in traditional fashion by a letter from the president of the company. In addition, he was called aside for congratulations by his supervisor who asked if he had received a watch along with the letter. "No," the man answered, "only the works—and the company has been giving me them for over 25 years."

—Robert E. Light

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You got to talk to the workers in the shop with you.
You got to build you a union, got to make it strong.
But if you all stick together, boys, it won't be long—

That's "Talking Union" and it was recorded in the Forties by the Almanac Singers (Lee Hays, Pete Seeger & Co.), along with many other favorites: "Which Side Are You On?", "Hold The Fort," "Solidarity Forever," "Roll The Union On," etc. Now it's been re-issued as an LP album, with Pete Seeger and chorus singing a group of traditional union songs on the other side.

This is an album you must have for nostalgia's sake. As you listen you'll discover how appropriate the words are today. Furthermore, if you have a teen-ager in the family to whom you have tried to explain the old struggles, well . . . let the Almanacs do it for you. . . .

There once was a union maid, she never was afraid
Of goons and ginks and company finks
And the deputy sheriffs who made the raid—

She went to the union hall, when a meeting it was called
And when the Legion boys come 'round
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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Turkey Talk

TOWARD THE END of a Negro writers' conference held in New York on the last day of February and the first of March, a promising young author told a story about two Southerners. They were neighbors, one white, the other Negro, and they decided to hunt a turkey and share the prize. Luck exceeded their expectations and the expedition produced not only a turkey, but a buzzard, too. The white hunter his eyes surveying the quarry, said to his companion: "I'll take the turkey and you take the buzzard." But the Negro shook his head and said he couldn't go along with that arrangement.

The white man tried again. "I'll put it another way," he said. "You take the buzzard and I'll take the turkey." Once more the Negro shook his head, and then exclaimed: "Man, you ain't talked turkey to me yet!"

That's the kind of gathering this unique conference was. Some 50 American Negro writers chose their words well and talked turkey to themselves, to some representatives of the literary community and, inferentially, to the vast audience which many of them now deserve and all hope eventually to reach. They examined, as time would permit, their place in the nation's culture and their relationship to their roots.

WHAT THE EXAMINATION revealed was sometimes painful and the reaction correspondingly bitter. In a nation where real thought is frowned upon, the serious writer, whatever his color, is severely handicapped. Often, to make a living, he must stop being serious.

For the Negro writer the problem is many times compounded. The life he knows best—his own, his people's—is the story the public, long conditioned to stereotypes, is least prepared to accept in portrayals of truth and dignity. Or so he is often told by those who must produce or publish what he writes.

And when the public is permitted to see Negroes in works of art, tradition has it they must be seen through white eyes. Thus, publishers seeking collaborators for a cycle of biographies of prominent Negro personalities (Marian Anderson, Billie Holiday, Louis Armstrong), turned not to Negro writers but to whites. Only the forthcoming life of Jackie Robinson is being written by a Negro writer, Carl Rowan of the Minneapolis **Tribune**.

As for TV and radio, one might conclude after a long investigation that Negroes do not exist—except as a "problem" on an occasional news or documentary program. And among the staff writers in all the major stations and networks they do not, in fact, exist.

WHAT, THEN, TO DO? For the Negro writer prepared to pay the price, the advice was blunt from one who had made some headway in the mass media: "Remember that you are a writer and forget that you're a Negro."

Langston Hughes, probably the only Negro who has made a living at no other job but writing for the past 25 years, pointed to white writers who make not only money but "money's mammy" writing about Negroes while able Negro writers starve. Yet he urged his younger colleagues to study the market, take a good objective look at themselves and their people, and in the end write the truth. "Of course," he said, "to be really successful in the commercial world, you ought to be white. But until you get white, write."

All talk was not of markets and selling. Most of the discussion centered on the Negro writer's relationship to his origins and his responsibility to his people. A small group—almost a singular minority, recently returned from the heady intellectual waters of Paris' Left Bank—decried social art as propaganda, urged mastery of the craft, and asked the writers to "remember we live in the world of Gide and Joyce and Kafka." Another writer retorted that she knew about those fellows but she also could not forget she lived in a world of the little children of Little Rock, the Montgomery marchers, the men and women risking their lives to vote in the South.

THE FINEST STATEMENT of the case came from Lorraine Hansberry, the young author whose play, "A Raisin in the Sun," opens on Broadway on March 10. She called for a revival of a partisan war against the illusions of our time and culture: "that art is not, should not, and when it is at its best, cannot be social," that any form of radicalism is a form of perversion, that sex is the cause and solution of all major problems. She urged Negro writers to shun the beatniks and saluted them by quoting O'Casey's toast to life.

A quarterly publication, prizes for Negro writing talent, a lecture bureau of Negro authors, a central listing of writers, and continuing sessions of the conference were among the proposals put forward. The American Society of African Culture, which sponsored the gathering, received the praise of all the participants. These included such veterans as Hughes, Saunders Redding and Arna Bontemps, as well as an impressive array of younger talent.

They have something to say about one of the most vital stories in the world today. Many of them are saying it with superior craftsmanship. They need agents, producers, benefactors, and most of all an audience. The nation will serve its cultural interests well to see that they get them.

—Louis E. Burnham

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James Styles